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# Supplement TO THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 27, 1850.

## LATE ENGLISH NEWS.

### AUSTRALIAN COLONIES BILL.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—APRIL 19.

A PETITION was presented by Mr. Scott, from Port Phillip, signed by 100 of the principal leaseholders of land, one fifth of them magistrates, praying that under the new colonial constitution they should be admitted to the elective franchise.

The House then resolved itself into committee on the Australian Colonies Government Bill. On clause 6,

Sir W. Molesworth moved the omission of certain words for the purpose of inserting that "there shall be established in the colonies of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia respectively a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly." If that amendment were carried, he should move another to make those chambers elective. Having adverted to the points and grounds of difference between his proposition and that of the Government, as stated on former occasions, he called attention, with reference to the amendment made by Ministers, that the colonists preferred their present form of constitution, to despatches which had been received within the last few days from Sir W. Denison, Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and from Sir H. Young, Governor of South Australia.

Sir W. Denison, in his despatch dated the 28th of December last, condemned that part of the bill which was now under consideration, expressing doubts "whether the evidence in possession of the Government was sufficient to prove that the people of New South Wales were unwilling to adopt a change in their existing form of government," submitting that "the welfare of the three colonies ought to be called into political existence might be allowed to outweigh the mere indifference of the people of New South Wales," referring to the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly at Sydney during last session, as affording ample evidence of the tendency in a single House to assume a portion of the power of the executive, urging the probability that such a body would not originate or carry out a change to two chambers, which would in effect diminish its power, reminding the Government that, if such a change were empowered to alter its constitution, "a change on the part of any of the four would destroy the uniformity," and stating, in conclusion, that his opinion "remained unchanged." "Every additional day," said Sir W. Denison, "that I remain in this colony serves to add to the strength of my conviction, that it would be most desirable, when the change in the form of government of this colony does take place, that a second chamber should be constituted at once by authority of Parliament," adding, that a large proportion should be elected, or otherwise rendered independent of the Government, and should hold their position for a long period, it not for life. In a despatch from South Australia, dated November 16, 1849, Sir H. Young forwarded a resolution respecting the new constitution, of which notice had been given by a member of the local Legislature, and described that resolution as tending to effect a transfer of power to South Australia of the political and social institutions of Great Britain. Sir H. Young directed the proposition to be published in the *Government Gazette*; and proceeding from which Lord Grey had reprimanded Sir H. Young. Was it not absurd now to legislate in opposition to the opinion of the colonists, when the bill was postponed last session to receive their opinion. (Hear, hear.) The despatch of the Colonial Office, for which the publication of Sir W. Denison's appeared to have been kept back, stated in reply the arguments in favour of the Government plan, that political science was good for nothing, that the system of New South Wales had worked "well," that the Australian colonies ought all to have the same institutions, that they would have power to change them, and that there were not materials for two elective chambers. Commenting on those arguments, the honorable member pointed out that the system of New South Wales had existed for seven years only, and in 1847 was declared by Lord Grey himself to be no improvement on the ancient system; that had the House of Commons in 1848 been constituted like the Legislature of New South Wales, the Government could have imposed a five per cent. income tax, that the rate of expenditure per head of the population there was double that of representative colonies, and four times that of Canada; that, far from the Australian colonies being closely grouped, their capitals were separated as much as Edinburgh, Paris, Hamburg, Vienna, and Constantinople; that the Colonial Office had the power to prevent a change of constitution, and that the number of intelligent men in these colonies was as great as in any other Anglo-Saxon communities, such as existed in America. The colonists had had ample experience in New Zealand, New South Wales, the Cape, Good Hope, and Ceylon, of the ignorance, rashness, caprice, and indiscretion of the Colonial Office, whose system seemed to be transferring convicts, exporting papers, and forming committees for it, it was argued, to be ruled only by itself. The whole question now before the House was, whether out of the materials in the colonies the Colonial Office was likely to select eight men in each colony better fitted to sit in the legislature than those whom the people might elect?

Mr. E. Denison said, that up to this time he had supported the bill in the form in which it was originally presented to the House. The general proposition of the House was in favour of two chambers. His own proposition went in the same direction, but he had

given up that proposition, and set aside his own judgment in favour of the measure of Government, thinking from the reasons adduced, that this might be an exceptional case, and that it was sufficient if the measure was satisfactory to the colonists. But what had happened since the Bill was last before the House? It appeared from the papers which had been laid upon the table, that Lord Grey was of opinion that the federative principle would be inoperative; but did the noble lord, when he gave that opinion, recollect that the management of the waste lands was by this Bill vested in a federative assembly? If the federative principle, then, became inoperative, how was there to be any action at all with respect to the waste lands under this Bill? (Hear, hear.) But his principal object in rising was to supply an accidental omission on the part of the honorable member for the member for Southwark; who had evidently not seen the further papers which had been delivered to members that morning, otherwise he would not have failed to introduce them to the notice of the House. The hon. member had referred to the despatch from the Governor of Van Diemen's Land; and he had brought under the notice of the House the fact of the reprimand which Lord Grey had administered to the Governor of South Australia, for having published the resolutions which were to be proposed for adoption to the local Legislature; but it had pleased Providence that a south wind should blow, and that a vessel should reach our shores some days ago, in consequence of which there had that morning been laid upon the table of every member not only despatches from Sir H. Young, but the resolutions passed by the Legislative Council of South Australia on the 15th of December last. (Hear, hear.) Now, what were these resolutions? Those resolutions proposed Governor and two chambers; and that "the upper chamber should be composed of members nominated by Her Majesty for life." (Hear, hear, from Mr. Labouchere.) He should like to know what was the meaning of the right hon. gentleman's cheer. He (Mr. Denison) supposed that an upper chamber so composed was not democratic enough for the right hon. gentleman. (Hear, hear.) Sir H. Young stated that "he did not concur in the recommendation that the members of the upper chamber should be nominated by the Crown to sit for life," and he proposed another plan which he considered more expedient. But, at all events, it was quite clear that both Sir H. Young and the Legislature of South Australia were in favour of two chambers. (Hear, hear.)

In a previous despatch from Earl Grey it was stated, that in his opinion the sentiments of the colonists ought to have a preponderating influence. Well, here we had in the most authentic and deliberate opinion of the colonists, through their representatives, that a Legislature composed of two chambers should be formed. The House had the opinion of the only three governors who existed in these colonies, to the same effect—Sir C. Fitz Roy, Sir W. Denison, and Sir H. Young. The Legislative Council of South Australia further stated that in their opinion "no general system of regulations for the disposal and management of the waste lands of the Australian colonies would be suitable for all the provinces." And yet this bill proposed there should be one system for them all. (Hear, hear.) He applied to the noble lord, whether, under these circumstances, he seriously invited the House to go on with the bill.

Lord J. Russell said that if his hon. friend had attended to the circumstances referred to with rather more care, he would hardly have made the speech he had just delivered. His hon. friend had proceeded upon the ground that the people of South Australia had come to a resolution that there ought to be two chambers, and that that proposal was identical with the scheme now proposed by the hon. gentleman the member for Southwark. Now what had happened was this:—With the exception of New South Wales there was not in those colonies any representative assembly whatever. The legislative councils which existed were legislative councils nominated by the Crown, or, as the hon. member for Southwark would probably phrase it, nominees of the Colonial office. However improper that phrase might be, it was quite true that those legislative councils existed by the authority of her Majesty, and by no other. It appeared that the Legislative Council of South Australia had come to certain resolutions, in which they declared "that the Legislature should consist of the Governor and two chambers." So far there seemed to be an approval of the plan of the honorable member for Southwark. But if they went on they would find it proposed that "the second chamber shall be composed of members elected by the people, with the exception of the undermentioned officers of Government, who, if not nominated to the upper chamber, shall be ex officio members of the Chamber of Representatives, namely, the Colonial Secretary, the Advocate-General, the Colonial Treasurer, the Collector of Customs, the Surveyor-General, and the Commissioner of Police." It was likewise proposed that the upper chamber should be composed of members nominated by Her Majesty for life. Now, it would be seen that nothing could be more unlike the proposal of the honorable member for Southwark than this. But still it might be said, it was the general desire of the colonists of South Australia to have two chambers, it would not be proper to entertain the bill which proposed a single chamber. It so happened, however, that this was not the general opinion of the people of South Australia, so far as the Government were informed. A large public meeting

had since been held, at which it was denied that the opinion of the colonists was in favour of a single chamber. It certainly did appear that the Legislative Council which was nominated by the Crown wished to preserve authority in its own hands as an upper chamber, just as the official persons in New South Wales did. This might be a natural desire on their part; but he was informed that the colonists were of a different opinion.

Mr. Adderley contended that the difference between the proposal of the Legislative Council of South Australia and the one then under discussion was a difference of detail rather than of principle. As to the opinion of the colonists, it was curious to observe that, whenever their authority was quoted on one side, the Government produced from their pockets a declaration on the other side which nobody else knew anything of. He maintained that no man in his right senses could infer from the despatches of 1848-49 that the colonists of New South Wales were unwilling to adopt a double chamber, while the opinions of Mr. Therry, one of the Judges of New South Wales, Mr. Speaker Nicholson, the Rev. Dr. Lang, and others, as recently expressed, were all decidedly in favour of such a proposal. Some stress was laid upon a petition on the other side which the noble lord had presented before the House. The language of that petition was extremely official-looking, and perhaps the hon. member the Under-Secretary for the Colonies could tell the House where it was drawn up. But he attached little importance to that petition, seeing that the great body of the petitioners had never been in New South Wales, and had no better means of forming an opinion of the matter than he had. (Hear, hear.) He himself had never had any misgivings about the result of the matter; he had always been convinced that even were the measure carried through the Imperial Parliament, it would be rejected by the colonies, and would be returned by the Governor of the colony as utterly impracticable in the same way that the Governor of New Zealand had sent back the New Zealand Bill. In fact, Sir William Denison had already declared, in the most distinct manner, that if such a measure was sent out by the Imperial Parliament, he would not introduce it into the colony over which he presided. Let every man lay for ever aside the infamous proposition that because a bad constitution had been given to New South Wales, a bad constitution must, therefore, for the sake of uniformity, be given to all the other colonies of that part of the world. The question at issue was between a single and double chamber; between the central and the municipal principle of colonial administration; between the minute supervision of the Colonial Office in Downing street with its apparatus of bribery and patronage, and made-up despatches, and the review of the contents of which were perfectly useless for any good purpose, and its paraphernalia of dilatory legislation, and the local administration of the affairs. The process of forming the second chamber was a matter of secondary importance in the opinion of all colonial reformers. ("No!" from Mr. Anstey.) The constitution proposed by the hon. member for Southwark was as near an assimilation to the British constitution as possible, while any amendments that might appear desirable to local experience were most properly left to local wisdom. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. Russell said, the hon. gentleman scouted the information he had referred to as apocryphal in itself, and as having been wafted to Downing-street by some breeze favourable alone to the Colonial Office. The hon. gentleman was quite wrong in his notion. The Colonial Office, with all its bribery apparatus, included no such favourable breeze in its arrangements; the intelligence brought by these breezes had sought, not the contaminating atmosphere of Downing-street, but the uncorrupting issue of the Jerusalem Coffee-house. (Laughter.) Those who had read Sir Henry Young's despatch would have read the announcement that "a public meeting of the colonists in Adelaide has been convened for Friday next, the 31st instant, the proceedings of which shall be duly communicated to your lordship." From the newspapers brought by the hon. gentleman's favourable breezes it appeared that the meeting so announced had been held accordingly at the Exchange, to consider the proposed new constitution. The greatest excitement, it was stated, prevailed on the occasion, so much so that all other business was suspended; there were 2000 persons going in and out of the Exchange during the proceedings, and independent of those, from 1200 to 1500 persons occupied the Exchange itself, the subject of the new constitution being considered of so much importance as to engage the entire attention of all. The report went on to state, that the sheriff having read the resolution calling the meeting, Mr. Fisher, rising to propose the first resolution, read one of the clauses of the bill, perhaps the one now under discussion; and proceeded to declare his conviction that a single chamber was quite enough for the present; wants of the colony, declaring that the colony wanted no second chamber, composed of nominees for life of the Crown ("hear, hear," from both sides of the House), and expressing his hope that Her Majesty would not sanction any such proposal, even should the Government propose it. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Fisher then proceeded to propose his resolution, a resolution altogether in contrast with the violent invective and wholesale denunciation of the honorable member. (Hear, hear.) This resolution, "though peril to his modesty" (a laugh), he would read to the honorable member and the House,— "Resolved, that the Bill lately laid before the Imperial Parliament for the better government

of the Australian colonies, as far as regards South Australia meets the wishes and wants of the colony; that in its essential provisions and its concession of a representative body with such extensive powers we regard it as a most liberal and comprehensive measure (hear); and the thanks of this colony are hereby given to Earl Grey and to Mr. Hawes (laughter), to Lord J. Russell, and Mr. Labouchere, members of the House of Commons, who prepared and brought in the bill." (Hear, hear.) Such was the resolution agreed to at this great public meeting. The House had the opinion of the Government, to a certain degree, of the Legislative Council nominated by the Crown, and formed of colonial officers, and here was the resolution of a great public meeting of the colonists in which they had declared that they did not want a second chamber composed of the nominees of the Crown. So far as to the opinion of the colonists of South Australia, whom the hon. gentleman seemed to think so dreadfully oppressed by the provisions of the present bill. (Hear, hear.) As to the proposition itself, the hon. member had rather surprised him by the statement that it was in the opinion of the colonial reformers a matter of secondary importance, or mere detail, whether the second chamber should be composed of the nominees of the Crown, nominated for life or for a period of years, or whether they should be elected, and in what way, by the colonists. Such might be the opinion of the Colonial Reform Association, but it was not the opinion of the Government. A second chamber, composed of some eight or nine persons, nominees of the Crown, sitting by themselves, and controlling altogether, or absolutely voting the proceedings of the popular assembly, could not, he conceived, be so satisfactory to the colonists as a single chamber in which the nominees of the Crown, sitting with the popular representatives in the proportion of only one-third, were liable to be overwhelmed by the majority. (Hear, hear.) His objection to the plan of the hon. member for Southwark was of a different nature. He objected to it because he considered that we were not at present in a position to come to any perfect solution of the question involved. (Hear, hear.) There was no amount of information from New South Wales, or from South Australia, or from Van Diemen's Land, or from any of those colonies, adequate to that satisfactory solution. (Hear, hear.) Even supposing a sufficient number of persons could be found ready to give their legislative labours on the formation of two chambers, this would not at present enable a positive decision on that part of the subject.

Next, suppose you said there should be a second chamber elected as a check upon the more popular assembly, there were various points to be gravely weighed—as to how it should be composed, what should be the qualification of its members, what that of its constituents (hear, hear)—whether the same constituencies should elect both bodies, and so on. (Hear, hear.) Before he introduced his bill for the union of the Colonies, he was for some months in communication with Lord Sydenham, then Governor of Canada, who, in his turn, consulted a great number of persons of local knowledge and experience in various ways, and who, upon their information, prepared a tolerably perfect sketch of the bill he introduced on the subject; but with reference to these colonies, he was at present prepared with none of this wholly essential information, so that, however soon the time might come when he might be able to establish a constitution of chambers, he considered that it had not yet arrived. (Hear, hear.) It was of the utmost importance to be fully prepared with all the details before entering upon any such legislation, for the varieties of circumstances to be carefully weighed were infinite. (Hear, hear.) For example, when, of late, Belgium and Holland decided upon having a second chamber, composed of persons with a much higher qualification than the members of the popular chamber, in framing this qualification in Belgium it was arranged that a certain amount of land tax should be paid, whereas in Holland the qualification was based upon such taxes as our assumed taxes. Analogous considerations must be carefully weighed before a double chamber was given to our Australian colonies, and he did not think that the honorable member for Southwark was endowed with so complete a knowledge of all the circumstances of all our colonies, as enabled him at present to form a complete constitution for them. The honorable member for Staffordshire said that the honorable baronet's constitution was an exact assimilation to the British Constitution. Now, one of the honorable baronet's propositions was, that two-thirds of the double chamber should have the power of executing the removal of the governor. He (Lord J. Russell) did not at the moment call to mind what maxim of the British constitution this proposition was based upon (a laugh), nor any historical example where an English Sovereign had been removed upon an analogous requisition of the two Houses; and he greatly doubted whether a corresponding principle could be found at all in the British constitution. (Laughter.) He trusted that the committee would bear in mind that this was an attempt, for the first time, to introduce into our colonies the elements of representation, to give to the colonists that power of electing their own Legislature which they had never before exercised, because acts of Parliament prevented it; to bear in mind that, in the introduction of these representative elements, they would be laying the foundations in those colonies of free government, long, he earnestly trusted, to be enjoyed by them. (Cheers.)

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Mr. Anstey considered the noble lord's speech a complete reply to the objections which had preceded it. It had been said that they were not in possession of the opinions of the people of Van Diemen's Land, and that they had only lately ascertained the opinions of the South Australian colonists on the subject. This Bill, however, had been before the inhabitants of those colonies for the last two years, and since the passing of the New South Wales Act they had been led to suppose that whatever constitution might be determined upon would establish only one House of Assembly; and the colonists had neither petitioned Parliament nor memorialised the Crown in favour of two assemblies. That circumstance he took to be a most conclusive indication of the real sentiments of the colonists. (Hear, hear.) The only memorial presented had been from the nominee Council of South Australia, and it was right the House should know that that Council had, for some years past, been acting upon all important questions against the declared will of those for whom they legislated. As a proof of the harmony of feeling existing between the colonists and the Legislative Council of South Australia, he might mention that a year or two ago the people of that colony were nearly unanimous in opposing a project for the general endowment of religious establishments from the state funds, and yet nearly every member of the Council voted in favour of the measure. During the recess of that Legislative Council, a series of resolutions, intended to be proposed by one of the members, was published in the *Gazette* of the Colonial Government, and was officially transmitted to this country, the object of which was to establish in South Australia an hereditary upper house. That proposition had, however, been abandoned, and the Legislative Council, instead of asking for an hereditary peerage, required that they should be nominated as members of the upper house during their respective lives. Meetings had been held in different parts of Van Diemen's Land, at which resolutions had been adopted favourable to the principle and to all the more important details of this bill; but the opinion had been expressed that nominees of the Crown ought not to sit in the Legislature of the colony. He hoped the noble lord would proceed with this measure as rapidly as was consistent with the allowance of a due opportunity for considering the amendment of which notice had been given; and that he would set up in the opinions of persons on the spot, or who were conversant with the habits and feelings of the colonists, rather than upon the suggestions of the abstract thinkers of the Colonial Reform Society. If the amendment of the honorable baronet were adopted, he considered that it would be far less likely that the people of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia would be able to obtain any essential reform in their colonial constitution than it would be if the House assented to the bill in its integrity. The amendment if adopted, would establish in the colonies an oligarchy in its worst form; and in the assembly the honorable baronet proposed to constitute there would not be even nominees to neutralise by their votes the factious and corrupt combination of the oligarchy. The hon. baronet had not cited any authorities to show that the colonists were in favour of his preconceptions; but Sir W. Denison had candidly and repeatedly informed Lord Grey that he did not in his despatches undertake to convey the opinions of the colonists, but that he only expressed his own. He admitted that his opinions had been carried at in the colony, chiefly, as he supposed, because they were expressed by him, and he also stated that he doubted whether there could be found in the whole colony of Van Diemen's Land a sufficient number of persons qualified as members of the single house of assembly proposed by this bill. He (Mr. Anstey) might observe, that it did not appear that a single member of the Legislative Council which recommended an hereditary peerage had raised his voice in favour of an elective upper house. He was of opinion that, with regard to colonies situated as South Australia and Van Diemen's Land were, the noble lord's scheme for one legislative chamber was preferable to the establishment of two assemblies, and he would vote in favour of the original clause.

Mr. Aglionby said, the House laboured under great difficulty in discussing this subject, on account of the entire want of sufficient information on which to form their opinions. He would have no objection that Parliament should announce its opinion that a second chamber was desirable for the constitution of those colonies; but, in his total ignorance of the circumstances of the colonies, he would leave it to the colonists to give effect to that abstract proposition at such time and in such manner as they might think most desirable. It appeared to him, however, that there was a rather general disposition to force upon the colonists a ready cut and dried constitution, without knowing whether the colonies could give effect to it or not. The House was now asked to determine whether or not a second chamber was desirable at this moment, the composition of such chamber being a matter for future consideration. Now, Sir C. Fitz Roy, in his letter of January 6, 1846, expressed an opinion in favour of an upper chamber, and he (Mr. Aglionby) had thought that an indication of the opinion of the colony; but, in looking through the papers, he found that meetings had been held, in which individual colonists of great weight had taken such a different view, that he was satisfied that, though himself of opinion that there ought to be an upper chamber, he should not impose it upon the colony. He was not aware that he had any subsequent information from New South Wales; but within the last few days he had had despatches from the governors of other colonies. One of these despatches was from Van Diemen's Land; it was dated December 28th, 1849, and was received on the 8th instant, and Sir W. Denison there expressed "his conviction that it would be most desirable, when the change in the form of the government of that colony should take place, that a second chamber should be constituted at once by authority of Parliament." Here was the opinion of a governor on the spot, and who must be acquainted with the wishes of the colonists. There was also a despatch from South Australia, dated December 17th, 1849, and received on the 17th instant; and in that despatch Governor Sir H. Young enclosed a series of resolutions passed by the Legislative

Council, recommending an upper chamber, though there was a difference of opinion as to its constitution. It might be said that the colonists themselves took a different view; and the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) had read a resolution to the House in regard to that. But did he read all that was agreed to? or were there not some other resolutions passed indicating a strong feeling in favour of some upper chamber. (Hear, hear.) Taking what was read, did it imply that the colonists were going to have all they could desire, or only that what they were about to have was better than what they had had? (Hear, hear.) Upon the whole, he (Mr. Aglionby) would suggest that they should recommend an upper chamber, but give the colonists the power of deciding when and in what way it should be constituted; and if that were done, he should be willing to allow this bill to pass. (Hear, hear.) He would not anticipate the discussion upon the subject of extending representative institutions to New Zealand, but wished to say that he believed no representative assembly would have done what he was informed the nominee council had—imposed Customs duties of twelve or fifteen per cent, upon copper, cord, canvas, and all articles used in shipbuilding, that came from England.

Mr. Roebuck thought that after the speech of the noble lord (Lord J. Russell) there seemed very little difference between him and the hon. member (Sir W. Molesworth). The noble lord had consented to state his opinion that two chambers were better than one, and an elective upper chamber better than a nominee one; the question was only when this second chamber should be constituted. An upper chamber nominated by the Crown was the most mischievous thing that could be introduced into a colony. (Hear, hear.) It was represented by the Government that the feelings of the colonists were not sufficiently known. Now what was our duty in such a case? In all human probability great communities were about to spring up in Australia; and it was surely not for the few colonists who were there now to decide upon the future destinies of the imperial colonies of Great Britain. (Hear, hear.) We were sending portions of our people there; what he (Mr. Roebuck) should desire would be to unite them to us in the relation of affectionate colonists—he did not want to separate. (Hear, hear.) The way to keep them part of our empire was by making them not slave subjects, but freemen subjects, united to us in all imperial concerns, and, like our own little municipalities, governing their own inferior and local concerns by their own local knowledge. (Hear, hear.) He believed the noble lord at the head of the Colonial Office desired to carry out this view; but he thought the noble lord had made a great mistake. Now let the subject be discussed in a friendly spirit. (Hear, hear.) We were about to unite these distant colonies to the empire. Had we not had experience of the best means of doing so? Could we not go to the experience of past ages? Could we not learn from our disasters—having lost the colonies which had now become independent states in America? Had we not such experience that we need not appeal to a few colonists in Australia, or anywhere else, to tell us what our colonial system should be? (Hear, hear.) Then came the question whether there should be two chambers or one. The House and the Government should weigh well the circumstances before they resolved it. When the constitution of the United States came to be considered in that extraordinary assembly where, for the first time, a constitution was actually written down and acted on, a series of able state papers, from the pens of Hamilton, Madison, and Jefferson, appeared in the *Federalist*, on the question, "Shall there be one or two legislative bodies?" Those great men answered that there should be two. The first was a reason which all experience since that had induced men to accede to, namely, that in a single chamber there was danger of hasty legislation. What was wanted in legislation was stability, and stability was best secured by having such question considered twice by two sets of people of different tempers, habits, and feelings. The other reason was, that it was difficult to reconcile responsibility with accurate knowledge of matters of legislation. Those eminent statesmen wished to check a body which was rendered fugitive in its nature by frequent elections, and they thought suggested itself that such an object would best be secured by a senate elected for a longer period and composed of grave and deliberate men. It was necessary for every Government to have functionaries who were to be watched by the representatives of the people, and to be accused whenever they did wrong. Who was to be the judge between the accusers and the accused? an elective body above suspicion. Now, were not the opinions of those great men—the originators of the American Republic—enough, without referring to newspaper accounts of what the people said in Australia and Van Diemen's Land? The House should be prepared to give the colonists such institutions as should relieve them from all difficulties. Did not every one perceive that a body, two-thirds of which were elected by the people and one-third nominated by the Government, contained in itself an element of quarrel? (Hear, hear.) But it was objected that the people were so small in number that in two chambers they would look ridiculous. Just try the experiment, and see how they would expand. Had any such difficulty arisen in America, in Texas, or California? And should it be said instructed, educated Englishmen, were not capable of enjoying the rights and institutions possessed by those who were called the rascals of the west—those strange "loose stragglers of Ohio and Arkansas"—and that the latter could raise themselves at once into the dignity of a state, while our fellow-countrymen—equal to ourselves in every respect—should be debased from privileges which every Englishman had a right to demand. (Hear, hear.) On the word of a governor they took away a constitution from New Zealand, which had been colonized by Englishmen as worthy as we were—he was about to say more worthy because more courageous. The Government must know well who and what were our colonists. They were men like those who, in South Africa, had refused to accept our contaminated population, and had thereby shown the dignity of their nature and the superiority of their minds. The Government, he repeated, had made a great mistake in this matter. They

did not know how to make, how to govern, or how to foster a great colony. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) They were not alone in that. No English Government had ever made a colony. The English people had made colonies in spite of Parliament and in spite of Downing-street. (Cheers.) (Lord John Russell smiled.) Don't let the noble lord smile. It was no smiling matter. Englishmen had founded a great empire on the shores of America, and when the Government trampled on them, they had vindicated their rights, and had shown the world what it was to move free and untrammelled. Without any imputation on Downing-street, just let them compare New York and Montreal, let them compare the people of the United States and those of the colonies. A great nation, the other a *fainant*, discontented, amercised population. ("Oh!") Oh! But it was the fact. (Hear, hear.) Let not the Government go over the same course with our Australian colonies. Let them have no hesitation or misgiving as to the power of Englishmen to govern themselves, but at once lay down among them the great principles of government enjoyed by ourselves, and allow our countrymen in the colonies to prove they were of the same blood as ourselves. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. McCullagh observed, it was not to be lost sight of, in considering the constitution best adapted for the two colonies, that a majority of the population of Van Diemen's Land was derived from those who were undergoing punishment, or had been freed after their arrival, while the preponderance of the inhabitants of New South Wales was untainted with crime. Before the hon. baronet the member for South-west asked the House to re-open the question involved in his amendment, he was bound to show some new reasons for its adoption. Upon this question he should not refer to any authority subsequent to the revolution in North America, but referring to a work written in 1795, written for persons in whose recollections the circumstances must have been comparatively fresh, he found it stated, that the first assembly consisted of deputies named partly by the people, and partly by the King, and those two classes sat in one house. This state of things lasted for a period of 60 years, when it was put an end to in 1850 by the machinations of the governor. One assembly had been found sufficient in those days for all the purposes of colonial legislation in some of our most important colonies in North America. It had been fully sufficient to develop the principles of liberty and good government in those colonies. Some allusion was made to the state of Massachusetts, but hon. members should remember that there also there was but one assembly, the members sitting and voting in one house; and, though the contrary might have been anticipated, yet experience had shown that the nominees of the Crown had not neutralized the voice of those deputies who represented the people. A desire had often been expressed that the time would speedily arrive when those colonies might be left to themselves. That accorded with his sentiments, for he should say that when any colony reached the point at which the inhabitants felt the want of a second chamber, he should gladly see them assisted in securing to themselves the benefit of that mode or instrument of legislation. In the course of these discussions he had heard it said, and the sentiment had been uttered with some feeling of regret, that we had lost our American colonies; he confessed that he did not sympathize with that regret. Further, it was to be remembered that at the time when the North American colonies threw off the yoke of the mother country, thirteen of the states possessed two chambers of legislation. When they reached the age of manhood, they claimed the rights of manhood, and asserted their independence. Gentlemen who were so much afraid of the operation of a single chamber ought to remember that when that subject was under consideration in the last Parliament, they enjoyed the proper opportunity of preventing and putting an end to it; the hon. members for Sheffield and Buckinghamshire were both members of that Parliament. It appeared to him that the experience of America and of all other countries pointed to this, that every effort should be made to infuse into colonial possessions the spirit of the country from which they sprang—that there should, if possible, be infused into their habits of finding remedies themselves for their own grievances. At a distance of 16,000 miles we could not hope to make our colonial possessions exactly resemble the mother country; we ought not to desire to trick them out in old fashioned court costume, and then imagine that we were doing for them all that the necessity of the case required. It had been described as one of the faults of a very great man that he had never been a boy. Let not this country prevent its colonies from going through their course of boyhood, looking forward with patience and confidence to a happy and prosperous maturity.

Mr. Roebuck wished to explain: his argument was founded on a hope that those colonies would begin well and end well, and not have to go through any period of darkness and suffering. Lord J. Manners said that the noble lord at the head of the Government had told them so great was the ignorance prevailing here with respect to the colonies, that he did not undertake to say whether the Australian colonies ought to have one or two chambers of Legislature. If that opinion of the noble lord were followed, it debared the house from deliberating further upon the subject. By what process of reasoning could the house come to the conclusion that those colonies ought to have a federative assembly, more especially when there was every reason to believe that the people of those colonies themselves were opposed to such a plan? He could not exaggerate the importance he attached to the question before the House. The two main difficulties of the question were conflicting, but they sprang from the prevailing errors of the time, and arose from the principle of "let alone," and the practice of minute pedantic legislation. All reason, experience, analogy,

and traditional feeling, pointed to two chambers as the most preferable legislative body for these colonies. The example of France, with its single chamber, had been referred to, but what was the spectacle that France presented at this moment? (Hear, hear.) Law, religion, and civil society itself, appeared to be depending upon the issue of a struggle for a single seat in that single chamber, a struggle between a licentious novel-writer and an heroic tradesman. A double chamber must be preferable to that proposed by this bill. If the opinion of Mr. Fox had any weight with the noble lord, he would remind him that in 1791, in the debate on the Quebec Bill, Mr. Fox said that "on every ground and consideration it was indispensably necessary that an aristocracy should constitute a branch of the constitution for Canada. It was equally important with the monarchical and popular elements of the constitution." The Legislative Council of South Australia were favourable to the double chamber. He thought it most important that the Legislature should hold out to persons of gentle birth and high breeding the expectation that in their new homes they would find those refinements, and it might be those honours, from which they would not have been debarred at home. Not that he thought it desirable to create an hereditary chamber at once, or even to establish immediately the second chamber which the Legislature of South Australia had recommended. But Parliament ought now to lay the foundation that would enable the colonists to carry out their constitution, in time, to the full development that was enjoyed in England. It was his deliberate and firm conviction that it was only by infusing the aristocratic element into the government of the colonies that we could hope, in after times, to see our great and glorious colonial empire created and sustained. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Keogh said the question was not, as had been stated by the hon. and learned member for Sheffield, whether the Australian colonies should have two chambers or a single chamber, but whether Parliament would continue in the colony of New South Wales the constitution that had existed there since 1842, and whether they would give this constitution to Van Diemen's Land and South Australia, with full power and authority to the colonial Legislature immediately to revert to the system of the two Houses of Parliament at home. This was putting a much severer approach to self-government on the part of the colonists than the proposition of the hon. and learned member. The hon. member for Staffordshire (Mr. Adderley) had overlooked a despatch dated January 1, 1848, signed by the Governor of New South Wales, enclosing a petition from a public meeting of the inhabitants of Sydney, who prayed that no change might be made in the constitution of the colony without their being consulted. All the speakers at this meeting expressed themselves against a second chamber, on the ground that no materials existed for the aristocracy of a second chamber. If the colonists had changed their minds on the subject, they might have a second chamber next year; but ought the House to pay little attention to the expressed wishes of the colony on the present occasion as to force upon them a double chamber against their consent? He did not think the resolution of the Legislative Council of South Australia entitled to much weight, because they wished to make themselves Government officers for life. But the Governor of South Australia (Sir H. Young) did not concur in that recommendation of a second chamber. The hon. member for Sheffield asked if they would allow a few thousands of people in these colonies to make constitutions for the millions who were to come after them? But by the 35th section of the bill it was provided that the colonial Legislature would have the power hereafter to alter from time to time the constitution now established, every bill passed for such a purpose being reserved for the signature of her Majesty's pleasure. (Hear, hear.) The hon. member for South-west thought that this latter condition was conclusive against the power of the colonists to change their constitution; but he (Mr. Keogh) found that a different opinion prevailed among the colonists, and in that opinion he entirely concurred. In every one of the colonial papers he had read he found an unbounded expression of sentiment in favour of the bill, and therefore he was not disposed to adopt the views put forth by the members of the Colonial Reform Association—no two of them were agreed as to what kind of constitution ought to be adopted. (Hear, hear.) He dissented from the statement of the hon. member for Sheffield, that there was a want of information on this subject; and, believing that they had at command all the elements necessary for coming to a sound conclusion, he was prepared to support the measure now before the House. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Disraeli understood that they were now in committee on the sixth clause of the bill, and that the point under discussion was whether in the projected political constitution there should be one or two chambers; therefore when the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Keogh) informed the House that that was not the question, but that in the bill there were influences and powers that the colonies might avail themselves of to have a second chamber if they thought it necessary, he apprehended that such considerations ought not to affect their present vote. (Hear, hear.) Nor were the elements of the second chamber at all at issue at that moment—whether it was to be nominative, hereditary, or elective, were considerations altogether apart from the clause before the House. (Hear, hear.) The question before them was in itself sufficiently grave, and he hardly knew one more difficult to determine upon. It was, however, not new to the House, having of late years been necessarily brought under the consideration of every member. It was not four years since a change of Government took place; and on that occasion the Government now in office was formerly in opposition, and they were not less brought under the consideration of every member. (A laugh.) Accordingly, from the Government they soon had some intimation of the policy that ought to be pursued on such a question, when they presented a constitution for a distant colony very contiguous to the one whose fate was under discussion that night. The house then obtained



the opinion of the Government, including, of course, those members of it who were known before as colonial reformers; and, from that first project of a constitution, three years and a half ago, it appeared they were of opinion that there should be two houses. (Hear, hear.) Some time after that the Government produced another project of a constitution for a colony of still greater importance than the one to which he had just alluded, and here, after mature reflection, and after having profited by their previous experiment, their project again included the plan of two chambers. (Hear, hear.) So far, therefore, the Government gave renewed instances of their approbation of this principle. But a great change occurred after that in the policy of the Government. The projects they had brought forward were not let it be observed, unfortunately; both of them were acknowledged by the population to whose necessities they were addressed. A great change, however, took place in the manner in which the Government conducted their future operations, and he was surprised that the House had not dwelt with more detail and interest on circumstances of a very remarkable character, almost unprecedented indeed, in recent Parliamentary history. (Hear, hear.) There suddenly was a delegation of the duties of the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies to a Committee of Privy Council (hear, hear), a very remarkable circumstance, because, after a Government distinguished by the ability of its members, and remarkable for the great reputation of the individual who presided over the colonies, taking office, and after their great promises of a salutary change in our colonial system, it was somewhat remarkable that with regard to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, it should be announced that he was incapable of forming an opinion on all those subjects, the ability to form an opinion on which was the very qualification which fitted a man to hold the office he occupied. (A laugh.) They were told it was extremely difficult to establish a system on which emigration should be conducted, waste lands sold, and constitutions for colonies settled—that, in short, they were of such difficulty that it was necessary to delegate them to a committee of the Privy Council. (Hear, hear.) Lord J. Russell intimated dissent.) He should have thought that if a man was not capable of offering to his Sovereign an opinion on subjects which had so long commanded the attention of all statesmen, he would have held the office of Lord Chief Justice of England, and who, he believed, would fill it in such a manner as would make his name go down to posterity equally honoured with those of his predecessors. Lord Campbell was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Now, he had the greatest respect for Lord Campbell; but the man he wanted to be responsible for the government of the colonies was the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and not the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. (A laugh.) The next member of the Committee was the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Labouchere), who had no doubt greatly distinguished himself as Under-Secretary; but as President of the Board of Trade he did not very well see why he should be responsible for the due performance of the duties that belonged to the Colonial Office. (Hear, hear.) But these two members of the Privy Council, were members—the one of the House of Lords, and the other of the House of Commons, and they could be called upon in Parliament to answer for the advice which they might give. There was a third member of the committee, however, a gentleman who bore the name of Sir Edward Ryan, who was not a member of that house, nor, of course, of the House of Lords. How was the responsibility of the Ministers in the person of Sir Edward Ryan to be secured? (Hear, hear.) If he wanted to find him, he must send for the "Red book" to know where he was, and if he happened to live in an hotel, his residence would not be found even then. (A laugh.) It was to these three men that the Ministers, who had given their consent to two chambers, and who had drawn up projects of constitutions on this principle, committed the fulfilment of the duties of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in consequence of his previous failure and incapacity, and it was to them they were indebted for the present project of a single chamber. (Hear, hear.) The noble lord at the head of the Government would, perhaps, refer to the precedent furnished by the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations; but the members of that committee were at least members of Parliament. This delegation of authority was the vice of the old system, from which we escaped when we established the principle of responsible government in this country. It was reserved for the noble lord to attempt to revive the vice of the old system of governing by means of the Privy Council. (Hear, hear.) The report which the Committee of Privy Council had put forth, dated April 1, 1849, was a remarkable document. It declared the opinion of the members of committee in these words:—

"We think it desirable that the political institutions of the British colonies should be brought into the nearest possible analogy to the constitution of the united kingdom. We also think it wise to adhere as closely as possible to our ancient maxims of Government on this subject, and to the precedents in which those maxims have been embodied. The experience of centuries has ascertained the value and the practical efficiency of that system of colonial polity to which those maxims and precedents afford their sanction. In the absence of some very clear and urgent reason for breaking up the ancient uniformity of design in the Government of the colonial dependencies of the Crown, it would seem unwise to depart from that uniformity."

The committee then proceeded to state the overpowering reason which induced them to

recommend a single chamber,—namely, that public opinion in New South Wales was decidedly opposed to an alteration in the existing constitution. Thus, then, it seemed that the change of policy on the part of the Government was entirely based on the supposed state of public opinion in New South Wales. The hon. and learned member for Athlone referred triumphantly to the public meeting held at Sydney, at which the proposal for a second chamber was universally condemned. But it was desirable to know what sort of a second chamber was suggested to the consideration of that meeting. (Hear, hear.) If the inhabitants of Sydney understood that the second chamber was to be a chamber of the nominees of the Government, they acted wisely in rejecting it with derision and indignation. When he said that the duties of the Colonial Secretary were delegated to the Committee of Privy Council, the noble lord seemed to dissent from that statement. (Lord J. Russell said that the subject of waste lands had not been referred to the committee.) To set the noble lord right he would recapitulate the subjects upon which the committee had advised the Sovereign in a manner which waived all necessity for an appeal to the Government. These subjects were the division of an existing colony, municipal councils, levy and appropriation of rates, public worship, civil list, duties on Customs, and the management of waste lands. (Hear, hear.) The committee recommended that one-half of the revenue derived from the sale of waste lands should be appropriated to local improvements. This was the subject which the noble lord had just told the house was not referred to the committee. (Hear, hear.) Were these matters for the settlement of which it was necessary for the Colonial Secretary to call to his aid a Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, a Cabinet Minister, and a retired Judge? (Hear, hear.) The committee whose business it was to extricate the Government from the scrape into which they had got by the rejection of these two previous constitutional schemes, proceeded to describe the old colonial constitution of the country by saying that in America, until the commencement of the 19th century, there prevailed the almost invariable usage of establishing a local legislature "consisting of three estates—that is of a governor appointed by the Sovereign, of a council nominated by the Sovereign, and of an assembly elected by the people." He never before heard that the Sovereign was an estate of the realm. (Hear, hear.) He had always understood that an estate of the realm was a class of subjects invested with political privileges. In England we had three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, and the commons; but to speak of the Queen being an estate of the realm, was to say that she was a class of her own subjects. (Hear, hear.) Yet these gentlemen of the committee who were called on to frame a constitution to be sent to the antipodes, in which the conflicting influences of estates were to be balanced one against another, were so utterly ignorant of what an estate was, as to bestow that character upon the governor of a colony. (Hear, hear.) Looking at the colonial career which the government had run during the last four years, the house ought to hesitate before adopting their decision upon the important question under consideration. Without a very brief period, Ministers were the advocates of two chambers, and two constitutions framed upon that principle, much pondered and elaborately matured, had been sent on the longest and most fruitless voyage that ever awaited a legislative enterprise. ("Hear, hear," and a laugh.) Then it was that the Secretary for the Colonies—whether in consequence of a too sensitive feeling with respect to his failure, or urged by the upbraiding remonstrances of his colleagues, he (Mr. Disraeli) could not pretend to decide—appointed a committee to draw up a constitution for the colonies, and that committee had recommended the adoption of the vital principle which the house was now discussing. From the tone of some of the speeches which had been made that evening, and from the eagerness with which the noble lord snatched at the heaven-sent journal which contained a report of a meeting in one of the colonies, he would seem that the Government were disposed to regard the opinion expressed by any paltry meeting at a coffee-house, in favour of their proposal as decisive of the question. It was not his purpose to recommend to the opinion of the inhabitants of the colony should be set at defiance in the settlement of this question; on the contrary, he thought that their feelings, and even their mistaken views of their own interests, should be deferred to, at least to some extent; but he could not admit that the question ought to be decided solely with reference to the feeling of the colonists. The hon. member for Dundalk had said that he ought not to anticipate the future; but, if ever we might venture to legislate for futurity, it was when we were legislating for a colony. (Cheers.) His vote should be given in favour of the principle of two chambers. That principle was essential to the security of society in the colonies, and it would conduce to their moral elevation by introducing into their communities aspiring elements. (Hear, hear.) He advised the noble lord to pause until he was better informed as to the opinion of the colonists on the subject of a second chamber, not filled by the nominees of the Government. From all that had fallen from the Treasury bench, it was evident that the Government was not well informed upon that point, and the Secretary of State had, within the last few hours, acknowledged that he was lamentably ignorant respecting it. Let the noble lord pause then, until he obtained the necessary information. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Hawes denied that the Secretary for the Colonies had abandoned his responsibility to the Committee of Privy Council. It had been a common topic of complaint that the Secretary acted in secrecy and without advice from persons capable of giving him information respecting the colonies. To meet that objection the Committee of Privy Council was appointed, and now the honorable member for Bucks complained of that. The honorable member asked who Sir "Somebody" Ryan was, as if he did not know that Sir E. Ryan had been Chief Justice at Bengal. The honorable member omitted to state that Sir J. Stephen, whose knowledge of colonial affairs was universally acknowledged, was also a member of the Committee of Privy Council. The Secretary for

the Colonies would not shrink from any part of his responsibility, and least of all from that connected with the introduction of this bill. But it was said that upon the report of the Privy Council Lord Grey had abandoned his opinion in favour of a double chamber. He would admit, if they pleased, that Lord Grey had altered his opinion on that subject, and upon what ground had he done so? When the noble lord found that the bill for a single chamber, which Lord Stanley succeeded in carrying through both houses in 1842, without a single division, was a bill which had given so much satisfaction to the colonists that they had repeatedly petitioned the House not to alter their constitution without their previous consent, he did abandon his opinion; he admitted his ignorance, if they pleased, and yielded to the opinions and the wishes of the colonies he had to govern. (Hear, hear.) Had the noble lord anything to be ashamed of in that? On the contrary, to him (Mr. Hawes) it seemed an honour. (Hear, hear.) This bill was founded upon the broad principle of meeting, as far as was possible, the opinions and wishes of the colonists. Would any one now contend that it violated the wishes of any of the colonies to which it applied? He admitted, fully, that the Governor of Van Diemen's Land was opposed to the establishment of a single chamber; but the Governor, in giving that as his own opinion, stated that he had no means of knowing precisely what the opinions of the people were on the subject. It appeared, however, from the newspapers of the colony, that with a full knowledge of the present bill, a public meeting had been held there, at which resolutions were passed praying for a single chamber. (Hear, hear.) But the noble lord, who was a member for Sheffield—whose views of colonial policy that evening he confessed had rather surprised him, and had led him to think that he had not read the history of America quite so accurately as was usual with him—that hon. member said that the Government ought to frame for the colonies the best constitution in their power. He (Mr. Hawes) denied it. (Ironical cheers.) He distinctly denied it; and he took his stand upon a broader principle than that laid down by the hon. member. He maintained that they ought to frame a constitution for the colonies as far as possible in conformity with the wishes of the colonists themselves. (Cheers.) He maintained, too, that the old constitutions of America had but one single chamber—that Pennsylvania, Georgia, Massachusetts, and Virginia, all began with a single chamber. It was true that, following the guidance of experience, they ultimately adopted two chambers; but were they less attached to that form of constitution because they had adopted it from conviction? Of course not; and he expected that precisely the same result would follow in our Australian colonies. (Hear, hear.) Referring to the clause of the bill, and he had heard it stated that it did not effect its object, because the consent of the Crown might be necessary before any alteration of the constitution was made, he would then enter into that question further than to say, that he was not at all afraid of an appeal to the House of Commons upon that point, that he was convinced a majority of the House of Commons would not so far snap asunder the cord which bound the crown and the colonies as to dispense with the sanction of the crown in such cases. But he begged to state distinctly on the part both of his noble friend the Secretary for the Colonies and the Government generally, that in conferring upon the colonists the power of altering their constitution they would allow them honestly to exercise it, so as to secure those reforms and changes which they deemed necessary for the welfare of the colonies. (Hear, hear.) It was this which constituted the great change in the colonial policy of the present day. Formerly the crown and the colonies were constantly opposed to each other, and had such a clause as this existed it would have been impossible that the difficulties which had arisen upon many questions could have occurred. It would be admitted, he thought, that this bill conferred upon the colonies of Australia a power of local self-government unequalled by any on record. He confessed he attached great importance to the decision of the house upon this question. It ought not to be made a mere party conflict; it ought not to be decided by "whipping" on either side of the house. (Hear, hear.) He entreated hon. members not to be guided by their own predilections in favour either of this or that form of government; but to consider whether they were not more likely to conciliate the colonists by giving up the right which the Imperial Parliament possessed to impose their own form of government upon them. By so doing he would venture to say they would have the glorious anticipation of laying the foundation of institutions which would be looked upon with the more satisfaction by the colonists, that they would be regarded as the work of their own hands, and not imposed upon them by a superior power. (Cheers.)

Mr. Disraeli explained.—The honorable gentleman said he (Mr. Disraeli) had omitted to name Sir James Stephen; but that right honorable gentleman, though a member of the committee, did not sign the report, and therefore he (Mr. Disraeli) inferred that he did not approve of it.

Mr. Scott, amidst loud cries of "Divide," attempted to address the House, but after delivering a few sentences resumed his seat. So far as he could be heard in the gallery, he was understood to say that the majority of the colonists were decidedly in favour of a double chamber.

Mr. Mowatt, as a colonist, wished to say that he considered the great defect of the bill was, that whilst the Government with great modesty professed too much ignorance of the wants or condition of the colony to legislate for it, the colonists themselves, when they would not leave the colonists free to legislate for themselves. It appeared from a despatch of Sir W. Denison that the colonists of Van Diemen's Land were so delighted at having a representative government at all, that they were not in a condition to examine the measure; but he must say that if one-third of the chamber were nominees, the decision of the chamber as to any form of government would prevent its being a spontaneous decision. He thought, however, that the Imperial Parliament, from the experience it had had, was in a much better position than

the colony itself to legislate for it, to profit by the lessons they had had, and to lay down such a form of government as they thought would work well. If it were put to the colonists of South Australia whether they would prefer a single chamber, partly nominated by the Crown, or a double chamber, he had no hesitation in expressing his belief that no section of any importance in the colony would pause for a moment in its choice. (Hear, hear.)

Lord J. Russell called upon the committee to bear in mind what was the point upon which they were going to divide. The hon. member for Southwark proposed to leave out the words by which the Legislative Council was to be composed, one-third of persons nominated by the Crown, and two-thirds of persons representative of the people, and to substitute other words in their place; but the hon. member, having in view two chambers, one to be elected by the people, and the other by the same electors, but with a double qualification, did not state in his amendment that the second chamber was to be elective; he had carefully omitted that point, as had all the hon. gentlemen who had supported him. The hon. member for Buckinghamshire distinctly said, indeed, that he would not bind himself at all as to the nature of the second chamber. Now he (Lord J. Russell) thought it of great importance that the committee should not come to a decision, setting aside the plan of the Government, without seeing clearly what was to be put in its place. (Hear, hear.) If you had a second chamber, without any person in it appointed by the Crown, were you sure that you would have the means of constituting that second chamber; were you sure that you would not have a mere repetition of the first chamber, that you would not have two chambers, mere echoes of the one of the other? Such, he himself believed, would be the case. (Hear, hear.) And again, let the committee reflect how dangerous it would be, without more information, to attempt to frame a constitution wholly unlike anything existing in any of our colonies. What was proposed by the Government was in strict conformity with Lord Stanley's measure of 1842. The bill contained nearly every provision of that which was laid before Parliament last year, which was sent out to the Australian colonies, and which in those colonies had excited, at all events, no voice of dissent; on the contrary, the hon. gentleman who spoke last but one told them that the colonies had hailed it with delight. The persons most connected with property and trade with the colonies urged them to pass the measure. (Hear, hear.) He called upon the committee to sanction a principle known to the colonies, and approved by them, and in actual operation for eight years in New South Wales, rather than to form an altogether new constitution of very doubtful adaptation to the position of the colony, of very uncertain acceptance there, and of very doubtful results, even if accepted. The only other alternative was the delay of the measure altogether for another year, a result which he was certain would be viewed with utter dismay by the colonists. (Hear, hear.) He trusted that the committee would decide the question with reference to the interests of the Australian colonies, and with no other consideration. (Hear, hear.)

Sir W. Molesworth said that the object of the omission he proposed was simply to establish in the colonies of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia respectively a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly elected by the colonists. (Hear, hear.)

The committee then divided, when there were—

For Sir W. Molesworth's amendment 150  
Against it ..... 218  
Majority ..... 68

The amendment was therefore rejected.

Mr. Anstey then proposed an amendment in page 4, line 26, providing that the governors or lieutenant-governors of the colonies of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia should be directed to carry into effect the new constitutions, instead of the respective Legislatures of those colonies.

The amendment was negatived without a division.

In reply to a question from Mr. Wyld, Mr. Hawes said, that there was no provision in the bill for the government of the convicts in Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. F. Peel observed that a limitation was placed upon the discretion to be vested in the legislative authorities of Van Diemen's Land and South Australia, as to the number of persons to constitute the Legislative Council, but the same limitation was not extended to the Legislatures of New South Wales and Western Australia.

Mr. Hawes said, that in Van Diemen's Land and South Australia the number of the Legislative Council was limited to 24, but in New South Wales and Western Australia a discretion was left with the legislative authorities.

Mr. Anstey then moved that the words of the clause which empowered the Crown to nominate a certain number of the members of the two Legislative Councils, to sit with the elective members, should be omitted.

The committee divided:—

For the amendment ..... 27  
Against it ..... 159  
Majority against the amendment ..... 132

The clause, as amended, was then agreed to. The Chairman then reported progress, and obtained leave to sit again.

WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.  
(From the Times, April 30.)  
The annual meeting of this society was held yesterday, at Exeter-hall, and was as crowded as we ever remember to have seen it. There was a remarkable absence of titled and distinguished persons upon the platform, however, but communications were read from Sir E. Tennent and the Earl of Mount-Cassell, expressing their sympathy with the cause of the Wesleyan Missions, and apologizing for their absence.

The Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P., occupied the chair.

The meeting having been opened with prayer, the Chairman proceeded to observe that nothing afforded him more satisfaction than testifying publicly from time to time the deep sympathy which he felt in the prosperity of that serving body, and the interest which he



always took in all its proceedings, as well as the gratitude it was his duty to express to them for the warm interest they had taken in the church to which he belonged, at a time when the countenance of such a body as the Wesleyans was a matter of deep moment to that infant church. (Cheers.) He was happy to find that they had assembled once again with the same prospects that had always attended them, and with the same unanimity by which they had always been marked. Though at times slight ruffles might have come over the smooth surface of their great body, those trifling breezes had passed away. (Cheers, and No. no.) The test by which a stranger must judge of their unanimity and prosperity was the great balance sheet of charity which they presented at such a scene as this, and he was happy to say that the present balance sheet showed that the heart was sound as ever. (Cheers.) He must congratulate them that, still, in every quarter of the world, in every clime, under every dispensation, their missionaries were to be found holding up an example to the missionaries of all churches for zeal, courage, and fidelity. He congratulated them that their efforts had been successful under the greatest difficulties, and he was happy to think that, whilst they were labouring thus at a distance, their endeavours at home had been such as to increase their funds and to reduce their debt, enabling their hands to be free for the great work before them. (Cheers.) If they asked themselves what was the first step towards civilizing the barbarous races of men, his answer was, "Send amongst them the gospel of Jesus Christ." If they wished to humanize those who, pretending to be civilized yet scoffed at religion, and held everything that was sacred at naught, they must do it by endeavouring to win them to the altar of the everlasting gospel. If they cast their eyes on lands into which the knowledge of Christianity had never penetrated, if they wished to bring the savage from his present state to be a member of the civilized world, he said, "Send your missionaries there, and give them the road with missionary precepts and Christian doctrines." (Cheers.) They had heard much within the last few weeks on a subject which was at the heart's core of all their body—the slave trade; and they had heard it stated, that the squadron which was intended to prevent the deportation of human flesh from Africa to other parts of the world was to be withdrawn so long as they kept Africa in her present state of blind and degraded ignorance, a squadron they might have, a squadron perhaps they must have, but it would be of little avail. Let them open up a passage into the heart of Africa for their missionaries, present to them the sin of man's trafficking in his fellow man, show them the true path in which they should walk, and then they would effect not only the great object which a Christian country should always have in view—that of Christianizing the whole world—but they would also effect that which as subjects of this realm they should never forget—the economizing in the most legitimate way of the burdens which the state imposed upon the country. (Hear.) When they looked to France and the states of Europe, to what, he asked, might be attributed all the convulsions that had taken place, but to the fact that in those countries every kind of religious feeling and opinion was mocked and sneered at? The low standard of religion there led to a low standard of morality and of everything which should be regarded as binding man to man; and he asserted that until pure religion revived and took hold in those countries they could not expect to see a return to a fixed and desirable state of things; and it was by their missionaries carrying the pure truths of the Gospel to the countries of Europe as well as to the rest of the world, that they might achieve, perhaps slowly, but he trusted surely, some good in that direction. (Loud cheers.) He congratulated them upon the immense amount of subscriptions which this year had been received towards their missions, and which must indeed be an encouragement to all who took an interest in their body, to continue in that purity and simplicity which characterized them, and the seal by which they had ever been distinguished. (Cheers.) The right honorable gentleman concluded by the expression of a hope that it might long please Almighty God to protect and confirm a society which had done so much good in this work, and which set an example of Christian humility and Christian zeal to the rest of Christendom. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. E. Hoole and the Rev. J. Beecham, two of the secretaries, then read the report—a voluminous and interesting document. It commenced with the grateful duty of announcing an improvement in the financial condition of the society, which enabled them to reduce the debt from £13,358 10s. 1d., to £10,841 13s. 2d. The total income for the year from all sources, including ordinary receipts at the Mission House and districts in England, Scotland, and Wales, £75,167 14s. 9d.; the Hibernian Missionary Society, £4,232 10s. 8d.; Juvenile Christmas offerings, £3,894 6s.; contributions of foreign auxiliary societies, £11,830 0s. 9d.; colonial grants, £5,907 5s.; legacies, £6,065 15s. 8d.; donations on annuity, £1,800; lapsed annuities, £1,162 8s. 6d.; dividends, interest, &c., £1,655 13s. 2d.—amounted to £111,685 13s. 6d.; and the expenditure to £109,158 10s. 7d., showing a balance of income over expenditure of £2,527 3s. 11d., applied to the debt before referred to. The report then proceeded to review the operations of the society at each of its numerous stations, and gave highly encouraging accounts of the success which had marked its endeavours. After carrying up half over the globe in the prosecution of its interesting labours, it concluded with an expression of thanks to Almighty God for the abundant mercies He had vouchsafed to them, and exhorted the members of the society not to relax in their Christian exertions to evangelize the world.

Mr. Head, M.P., moved the adoption and circulation of the report, enlarging at length upon its principal topics, and especially upon the circumstance of the great extent of their missionary enterprise. He regarded it as peculiarly gratifying that their efforts were being successfully directed to those vast fields of emigration to which so many of our fellow-beings were now proceeding—the great continents of Australia and Polynesia and Southern and Western Africa, comprising the Cape Coast and the rising and interesting colony of Natal,

where civilization was rapidly advancing, as an instance of which he might mention that specimens of its cotton had been recently received at Manchester from the kingdom of Demonsai. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. Hannah seconded the resolution, and observed that their society had never enjoyed a larger amount of prosperity than at this moment. It was true that some discouragements had occurred, but there was no abandonment of the work, no relinquishment of anything they had been pursuing. Never had they so mighty a machinery at work as at this moment, and for that they will thank God and take courage. They wanted to promote, not sectarianism, but Christianity. That had been the spirit of their fathers, and that should be the spirit to actuate them. (Cheers.)

The Chairman was about to put the motion, when

Mr. Grosjean, one of the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Corresponding Committee, got up, and intimated his desire to propose an amendment. His appearance was the signal for a considerable uproar. The chairman, however, referred to the ticket of admission, which pledged all persons using it to abide by his decision, and peremptorily refusing to receive an amendment which, he said, could only be brought forward in a controversial spirit, called upon the society to sit down under pain of immediate expulsion. Mr. Grosjean appeared anxious to persevere, vociferating in loud tones, "justice," "An Englishman's right," and so on, and as he was backed by a pretty large sprinkling, a formidable interruption of the proceedings appeared to be threatened. The police were at length called in, and under the convincing arguments which they used, the contentious gentleman was prevailed upon to resume his seat, and the resolution was then carried by a large majority.

Mr. Peto, M.P., proposed the second resolution, declaratory of the obligation imposed upon the society by previous success to make additional efforts for raising their missions in heathen lands to a state of greater vigour and efficiency. The honorable gentleman referred to the advantage of employing native agency in the prosecution of these missions, and expressed his sense of the gratitude they owed to the British Government and to the East India Company for having published an edict by which such natives as embraced Christianity would not suffer in consequence.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. W. Chalmers, M.A., supported by Mr. Hay, and carried unanimously.

The third and fourth resolutions, expressive of devout gratitude for the augmentation of the society's income, and recommending that, in connexion with a more vigorous and extensive application of the other divinely instituted means, more earnest prayer should be offered for that those means might fully answer the end for which they had been appointed by the great Head of the Church, were also carried unanimously, being severally proposed, seconded, and supported, by Mr. Cowan, M.P., the Rev. W. Bevan, the Rev. P. M'Gowan, Mr. G. A. Hamilton, M.P., Mr. G. Smith, and the Rev. Dr. Newton.

The speeches were of the ordinary character, and it is only necessary to observe that Mr. G. Smith, having been discovered to be the author of a pamphlet against the expelled ministers, met with anything but a favourable reception.

At the close of Dr. Newton's speech, the plate went round and a collection was entered into.

In the course of proposing another resolution of a vote of thanks to the general committee, treasurers, and secretaries, a strong feeling was manifested against the propriety of agreeing to such a motion.

The Chairman accordingly determined upon putting it to the meeting *pro* and *con.*, the previous resolutions having only been put in the affirmative.

The result was that it was carried by a large majority.

A vote of thanks to the President of the Conference was carried under like circumstances, and with a similar compliment to the Chairman the proceedings terminated.

#### LONDON AND THE FUTURE THEREOF.

(From the Spectator, April 13.)

It is the season in London: the Parliament is in the midst of business, the Opera has attained its prime, and the metropolis is full. It is a wonderful congregation that now adds about London streets—a mingling of all races and ranks. Perhaps London never was so thronged as it is now, even at the height of the railway mania; it is fuller perhaps than it will be until the Exposition of 1861 draw larger supplies of mankind from the world. The West-end swarms with Peers, Members, young men, butlers, candidates for election and future, country gentlemen, dowagers, ladies-maids, Court beauties, "et hoc genus omne." Westminster teems with lawyers, Parliamentary agents, private bill promoters; all West of Temple Bar with artists, ministers of religion gathering for April and May meetings, country cousins, horse dealers; omnibuses splendid, moving, bearing of humanity, discharge their ever changing cargoes at every corner; cabs have discovered the perpetual motion; the boats on the Thames begin their season of tempting fate with impossible loads; Regent-street is a wonder of charioting skill; Temple Bar is a perpetual Thermopylae of resistance to invasion; Champs-Élysée is like a water-pipe on the improved principle of constant supply, ever full; the Opera is a delicious purgery; Covent Garden compares its fruits and flowers with an equivalent show of cheeks and lips; the Exhibitions are the trials of the constitution—tests of the power to resist fainting; shopmen cannot sell their wares for the press of customers; bankers' clerks stride across the floor like Coulon, and begin to fear for the stability of their own brains: every by-street is like a main thoroughfare; the wild Irish have come to town, with the beggars both of the ragged and silver gown orders; London is the region of a floating Poland: it is Hungary, it is Italy, it is France, Legitimate and Ultra-Democratic; it is familiar as Malta with every costume, from that of Exeter Hall to that of the Indian Archipelago. And the poor you have always with you—in Bethnal Green counsels,

and in other suburban provinces. Also the thieves and predatory classes. Also—but Non rationem de lor, na guarda a pass. talk not to earn polite of that class of our countrywomen seen most as the light fades—that class of the untrained, the unassuming; fruit of recognized enormities in our social system; the sphinx of civilization, whose involuntary existence is a curse chiefly to itself; the Lania whom the Apollonius of received philosophy deems to utter petition as an expiation for the sins which it endures rather than originates. How often the angel face of innocent woman passes into that altered race, "the inextinguishable glow of human nature" faintly showing its fairest light through the darkness of corruption and coming death! The welbred eye sees but rests not on the unnamed, and slides easily past the living furniture of our streets.

Not is that the only alienage. In this gigantic jumble of men and things called London, the one striking fact beneath the ever-agitated surface is the thorough separation of classes. Society is divided into innumerable circles, each with its own customs and objects. Sections have their own journals, at times unknown even to other circles. The countless "interests" are separate, intent only on themselves. Projects without number pursue their own paces, sometimes ignorant of exact double already existing, or running a parallel path towards attaining existence—to encounter each other in mutual ruin at the goal. The fellowship of kind is neutralized by the multitudinousness of the neutralized; in crowded London, beyond the pale of his own circle, man knows his fellow-man only as an universal competitor or an obstruction.

#### THE FRENCH BUDGET.

Let us successively enumerate the particular characteristics by which this budget recommends itself to public attention. First of all, the Minister announces the formal intention of handing over to private industry every enterprise which experience has shown can be so executed. The State is in general a contractor which executes works more expensively than any other. In consequence, the present Government does not confine itself to insisting on the Arignon Railway being conceded to private industry. There is also a strong inclination to act in a similar way with the steamship service of the Mediterranean. Why was not a similar determination come to in 1840 for the Transatlantic packets? We should not have expended a sum of more than 30 millions to launch ships, not one of which performs even imperfectly the office for which it was destined. The Minister of Finance does not say whether the establishment of Indret, hitherto preserved to construct steam machinery for the navy, which could be just as well executed by private establishments, is to be kept up at the charge of the State; but according to just reasoning the State ought to give it up. A second particularity of the budget is, that the Minister has not feared to effect changes in several taxes. There will be some new ones, and also a great number of others revised, so as to give a supplementary augmentation of 84 millions. It is hoped that the State will obtain some millions additional by means of an augmentation of 5c. for each single letter. The stamp duty on commercial bills, and the registration dues, will give a tolerably large sum. Gunpowder and playing cards are to be more highly taxed. A duty on small shot will give 375,000fr. Salt employed in the fabrication of soda will be subjected to a tax of one decime per kilogramme. This tax, the produce of which is estimated at 4,500,000fr., will, however, be subjected to a drawback for the soap which we export. It is not impossible that the calculation according to which the Minister has set down the above sum may be entirely overturned by the effect of a discovery, now some years old, which hitherto has not been turned to any great account, and which consists in extracting at once sulphate of soda from sea waters. The new duty will urge our salt-makers on the shores of the Mediterranean to turn to profit this ingenious idea of M. B.illard, and if so, the duty would be seriously compromised. The minister does not confine himself to altering certain taxes for the purpose of increasing the revenue. He also changes the *assiette* of several, with a view to arrive at a more equal division, the revenue arising from them remaining the same. Such is the duty on doors and windows, which has long called forth very earnest complaints. In one uniform tax were confounded the openings of all the houses in the same locality. The Government called on to correct this error in 1854 by the bill of August 4, 1854, does so without hesitation. There are certain taxes which gain by being lowered, the quantity consumed more than making up for the higher duty. Such are, for instance, the duties on sugar and coffee. England has given a striking example of what the reduction of taxation in these two articles can effect: she lowered the duty on these, and the revenue, in place of falling off, augmented. Here reduction in what concerns sugar is to be gradual, arriving at its term in 1854. At that period all sugar will pay only 25fr. the 100 kilogrammes, in place of 63fr. for colonial sugar, and 165fr. for foreign sugar. From the present time the duty is to be reduced more than one-half for colonial sugar, and more than three-quarters for foreign sugar. The Government deserves praise for this attempt, to which a proposition of M. M. Levasseur and Desjoubert on which M. Chagry had made a good report, had called its attention. M. Fould is thus entering on a path where much may be done to increase the revenue. But the great novelty of the budget is an abolition in a certain branch of taxation; landed property is first of all to be exonerated from certain registration dues now weighing heavily on the loans which it contracts. It is thus relieved of six millions a year, but that is only the smallest part of alleviation accorded to it. The Government gives up the addition of 10c. to it, and which represent a revenue of 27,300,000fr. We cannot but applaud any aid given to landed property, as it has been weighed down since the revolution; the 45c. of the Provisional Government, and the reduction in price of its various produce, had caused it an enormous prejudice. The budget of 1851 is to pass without a loan. If it was probable that these of 1852 and the following years could pass in the same way, nothing could be better; but, unfortunately, if 1851 is balanced

without a loan, it is owing to the extraordinary resource of 54 millions, which cannot take place again. The State is to sell forests for 50 millions, and domains for six, and it is in that way that the extraordinary budget is to be provided for. But the extraordinary budget will re-appear in 1853 and the following years, and the 27 millions now suppressed from the taxation weighing on land, supposing them to be then re-established, would not serve for one-half of the sum to be made up. Of two things, the abolition shall be only for one year, or that new resources must be found to supply its place, and even more, or that certain expenses, amounting to 59 millions, be suppressed after January, 1853. Of these two combinations, which is the one preferred in order to render the abolition perpetual? The statement read in the Assembly does not say, but some explanation must be given on the subject. If we point out this difficulty, we ask for nothing better than to see it put aside in an unanswerable manner.

#### THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATE EUGENE SUE.

THE *Ordre* has the following, under the head of "The Socialist Candidate of the Socialists":—"What is it that has procured Eugene Sue the applause of the Conclave? It is this sentence of the romance writer, quoted by the celebrated delegate Citizen Miot, as containing the solution of all social questions, 'No one has a right to superfluity while any one is in want of necessities.' But with Citizen Eugene Sue where does superfluity commence or necessity end? Is, for instance, according to his views, a measure of simple necessity the style which he keeps up at his Château des Bordes; if we may credit a little book published by M. Auguste Johanet, under the title of *Le Socialisme Inconnu ou Miconnu*, and in which is found the following picture of the Socialist necessity of Citizen Eugene Sue. The author introduces us into the manor and park of Des Bordes:—"It is impossible to convey an idea of this luxury, of the sumptuousness of these caprices, of those whims of all kinds; here a dining-room where the sideboards display plate, porcelain, and crystal, with pictures and flowers, to add to the pleasures of the table all the pleasures of the eye; then an inner gallery, where pictures, statues, drawings, and engravings reproduce subjects the most calculated to excite the imagination. Here is a library full of antiquities, where bookcases contain tomes bound with unheard of luxury, where objects of art are multiplied with an absence of calculated affection, which appears as if willing to say that they came there naively. A daylight shaded by the painted glass windows and curtains of the richest stuff, gives to this place an air of mystery, invites to silence and to study, and produces those eccentric inspirations which M. Sue gives to the public. A desk richly carved receives sundry manuscripts of the romance writer, the numerous homages sent to him as the valet expresses himself, from all the corners of the globe, and which the faithful servant enumerates with the most scrupulous care. Everywhere may be seen gold, silver, silk, velvet, and soft carpets. Everywhere taste and art tax their ingenuity in a thousand ways to produce effect, ornament, and domestic enjoyments. A vast drawing-room, furnished and decorated with all imaginable care, exactly reproduces that of one of the heroines of romance of M. Eugene Sue; and there have been carved on the woodwork of a Gothic mantelpiece medallions representing the Madeline falling at the feet of our Saviour, who tells her that her sins will be forgiven her, because her love has been strong. An immense looking-glass connects this salon with a green-house, filled with exotic shrubs and trees, and it is lighted at night with magnificent lustres. The walls are richly decorated, and gold and silver fish are seen swimming in marble basins. In addition to the lustres there are branches for bougies, mixed with the foliage of the trees and plants, to increase the effect when the place is lighted up. A small gallery, lined with odoriferous plants, leads to a circular walk, which surrounds a garden cultivated in the most expensive manner; and there is a fine piece of water with numerous swans on it. The walk is a *chef-d'œuvre* of comfort, for it is a silk fish are seen swimming in marble basins. In addition to the lustres there are branches for bougies, mixed with the foliage of the trees and plants, to increase the effect when the place is lighted up. A small gallery, lined with odoriferous plants, leads to a circular walk, which surrounds a garden cultivated in the most expensive manner; and there is a fine piece of water with numerous swans on it. The walk is a *chef-d'œuvre* of comfort, for it is a silk

covered with a dome. It is enclosed with balustrades covered with creeping plants of the choicest nature. It is a sort of terrestrial paradise in the bosom of the Solange, and beyond it is a park admirably laid out with picturesque cottages, elegant bridges, and a preserve for pheasants, which supply myriads of birds for the shooting excursions of the illustrious Comtesse, whose keepers exercise a severe look out to prevent any person from touching the game. The outbuildings show the same elegance. There is a splendid courtyard leading to the stables for carriage-horses, one of which has his name 'Paradox' marked over his stall. The wood-work is richly painted and varnished, with an infinity of brass ornaments. Near this place is a box exclusively devoted to the favourite mare of Citizen Eugene Sue, the famous 'Good Lady'; it is furnished with every elegance. The harness is kept in the finest order, and there is a communication from the harness-room to the green-house. The dog kennels are in the same luxurious style as the stables. Many workmen would think themselves happy to have such habitations. In a walk round the reserved grounds we convinced ourselves that the walks were carefully kept, and here and there are banks of moss for the author to repose upon in his meditations; but the tenants of the environs do not appear to derive any advantage from the vicinity of the great apostle of progress and amelioration. Several of the houses are badly roofed, the walls are cracked, and the houses are on a level with the marshy soil covered with manure, which gives them the appearance during two-thirds of the year. On the other hand, however, there is a profuse distribution of little bookcases such as the Berger de Kravan, and other Socialist publications."

If, says the *Ordre*, after copying this account, all that M. Eugene Sue enjoys is *la nécessité*, in what does he make it *superflu* to consist?

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